

Identification of the So-Called *Genesis Apocryphon* from Masada
(Mas 1m, from MasapocrGen to MasAdmonFlood)

The fifteen fragments of a Hebrew text that were excavated during Yigael Yadin's Masada 1963/64 excavations in the casemate 1045, and later published by Shemaryahu Talmon as "Mas 1m: Genesis Apocryphon (MasapocrGen)" have received little attention.¹ The assigned name "Genesis Apocryphon" is unfortunate, since, even though unintended, it suggests a connection with the Qumran Cave 1 Aramaic Genesis Apocryphon. Given the extreme fragmentariness of the text, Yadin and Talmon focused on two phrases in the largest fragment, read as ותלו את, "and they hanged" (frag. 1 i 4), and חן בעיניו, "favor in his eyes" (frag. 1 ii 3). On the basis of these phrases, Yadin suggested that the fragments might derive from a kind of apocryphon on Esther (referring to the hanging of Haman, and Esther gaining favour in the eyes of the king), whereas Talmon argued for a link with the Joseph story (the hanging of the baker, and Joseph gaining favour in the eyes of Pharaoh). Talmon therefore suggested it was some kind of apocryphon on Genesis, a proposal which was adopted by Thierry Legrand who specified that the work dealt with Joseph.² Daniel Stökl Ben Ezra offered a palaeographic study of the script of the fragments. He argued that the two columns of frag. 1 were written by two different scribes, and that frags. 3a and 4d were penned by yet another scribe. In his view, frags. 3a and 4d would probably derive from a different scroll, which he calls "Mas 1q." Stökl Ben Ezra concludes that "regretfully little new can be said about the possible identification of the two or more scrolls."³

Fortunately, one can say something new about the identification of what appears, after all, to be one single scroll. The present paper (1) solves the textual identification of the fragments of Mas 1m, based on the hitherto apparently unnoticed overlaps with a Qumran Cave 4 scroll, and (2) briefly discusses the character of the work and its modern nomenclature.

¹Cf. Yigael Yadin, "The Excavation of Masada — 1963/64, Preliminary Report," *IEJ* 15 (1965): 1-120, esp. 75-76 (on locus 1045) and 105 (on Mas 1m). Shemaryahu Talmon published the fragments in *Masada VI: Yigael Yadin Excavations 1963-1965: Final Reports: Hebrew Fragments from Masada; The Ben Sira Scroll from Masada* (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, The Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 1999), 98-104; earlier publications are Talmon, "קטעי כתבים עברית ממצדה," *Eretz-Israel* 20 (1989): 287-86, esp. 280-81; Talmon, "Masada 1045-1350 and 1375: Fragments of a Genesis Apocryphon," *IEJ* 46 (1996): 248-55. The site www.deadseascrolls.org.il contains two different images, one dark and one light, of IAA photograph 302362.

²Thierry Legrand, "Composition apocryphe autour de l'histoire de Joseph (MasapocrGen)," in *La Bibliothèque de Qumrân 1: Torah: Genèse* (ed. Katell Berthelot, Thierry Legrand, and André Paul; Paris: Cerf, 2008), 523-27. See also the name recorded in Emanuel Tov, *Revised Lists of the Texts from the Judean Desert* (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 107: "apocrGen (*olim* apEsther?)."

³Daniel Stökl Ben Ezra, "Deconstructing the so-called *Genesis Apocryphon* from Masada (Mas 1m or MasapocrGen)," *RevQ* 23/92 (2008): 533-42 (541).

1. Identification

1.1. Mas 1m 4d+3a par 4Q370 1 i 2-4

Mas 1m fragments 3a and 4d⁴ (the two fragments which Stökl Ben Ezra had assigned to another scribe, and had called Mas 1q) belong together, and textually overlap, be it with some variants, with 4Q370 (4QAdmonition Based on the Flood) 1 i 2-4. Together (frag. 4d above frag. 3a) their text reads:

[אז המה]
[ליהם ויש פטם] [יהוה]
[ירעם על]
[מתהום]

This corresponds closely to 4Q370 1 i 2-4, which runs as follows according to the transcription and translation of the editor (correspondence with Mas 1m underlined):⁵

| | |
|---|---|
| והני הם אז עשו הרע בעיני אמר יהוה ויאמרו אל במ[עלי]ליהם | 2 |
| וישפטם יהוה כ[כ]ל דרכיהם וזמחשבות יצר לבם ה[רע] וירעם עליהם בכח[ווי]נעו כל | 3 |
| סוסדי אר[ץ] ומ[ים] נבקעו מתהמוֹת כל ארבות השמים נפתחו ופצו כל תהמו[ת] מ[ים] אדרים | 4 |

But look! Now they have done what is evil in my eyes, said YHWH. And they rebelled against God in their deeds. 3 And YHWH judged them according to all their ways and according to the thoughts of the evil inclination of their heart. And he thundered against them with his strength. And all 4 the foundations of the earth trembled, and waters broke forth from the depths. All the windows of the heavens were opened, and all the depths overflowed with mighty waters.

⁴Cf. for numbers of fragments, illustration 12 in Talmon, *Masada VI*, 99. Fragment 4d consists of two pieces. The small piece at the bottom right (with ליה), ignored by Talmon, and incorrectly read by Stökl Ben Ezra, belongs to line 2, before the final *mem*.

⁵Carol Newsom, "Admonition on the Flood," in *Qumran Cave 4 XIV: Parabiblical Texts, Part 2* (DJD 19; Oxford: Clarendon, 1995), 85–97 (90–91). Preliminary edition: Newsom, "4Q370: Ad Admonition Based on the Flood," *RevQ* 13/49–52 (1988): 23–43. 4Q370 as published by Newsom is one single fragment, consisting of two large pieces (the right part first appears on PAM 40.601, the left part first on PAM 41.916). The pieces have been joined to one fragment (frag. 1) on PAM 42.506, which also shows another fragment with the word ישראל and a large bottom margin. That fragment (frag. 2) has been tentatively joined to the bottom of frag. 1 on PAM 43.369 (cf. also DJD 19, Plate XII), but has not been published by Newsom. Indeed, its *'alep* is different from those of 4Q370. Even though Newsom published only one fragment, and simply referred to cols. i and ii, we will refer to 4Q370 1 i and 1 ii.

There are two variants. Mas 1m has אז המה, where 4Q370 reads הם אז. With respect to 4Q370 1 i 2 עשו והני הם אז עשו, Newsom comments that, “The abundance of particles and pronouns at the beginning of the sentence makes for rather cumbersome syntax.”⁶ The proposed variant reading of the Masada text, והנה אז המה עשו, is no more or less unusual than the 4Q370 reading. The next two lines of Mas 1m 4d+3a correspond with 4Q370 1 i 2-3 יהוה במעליליהם וישפטם יהוה and וירעם עליהם. The last line has the second variant: 4Q370 1 i 4 has מתהמות followed by כל, where Mas 1m has the singular form מתהום, followed by a trace which certainly is not *kap*, but a downstroke of, e.g., *waw*, *reš*, or *taw*. At this point, the text more or less paraphrases Gen 7:11, which reads כל מעינת רבה, “all the fountains of the great deep broke forth.” Mas 1m may therefore have read מתהום רבה, “from the great deep” (cf. also 4Q252 1:5), against 4Q370 מתהמות, “from the depths.”

The text of 4Q370 1 i 2-4 can nicely be fitted into the Mas 1m text, resulting in lines of comparable length, e.g.:⁷

| | |
|--------------------------|---|
| ויברכו את שם עליון והנה | 1 |
| אז המה | 2 |
| עשו הרע בעיני אמר | 3 |
| יהוה וימרו אל במעלי | 4 |
| ליהם וישפטם | |
| יהוה ככל דרכיהם | |
| וכמחשבות יצר לבם הרע | |
| וירעם על יהם בכחו וינעו | |
| כל מוסדי ארץ ומים נבקעו | |
| מתהום רבה כל ארבות השמים | |

1.2. Mas 1m 2a 3-5 and 2e par 4Q370 1 ii 5-7

Three consecutive lines of Mas 1m frag. 2a 3-5 textually overlap with 4Q370 1 ii 5-7, but it is difficult to connect the remnants of the earlier lines. Mas 1m frag. 2e should be placed somewhat to the left to frag. 2a lines 4-5.

| | |
|--------------------|---|
| ויהם | 1 |
| המה ורוח | 2 |
| על מי הם על | 3 |
| רחם א | 4 |
| מו | 5 |
| גבורות יה וזה זכור | |

Compare 4Q370 1 ii 3-7 (with the text of Mas 1m 2a 3-5 underlined)

| | |
|--------------------------|---|
| ויטהרם מעונם | 3 |
| רעתם בדעתם בין טוב לרע | 4 |
| יצמחו וכצל ימיהם על הארץ | 5 |
| ועד עולם הוא ירחם א | 6 |
| מו | 7 |
| גבורת יהוה זכרו נפל אות | |

⁶Newsom, DJD 19:92.

⁷For the reconstruction in 4Q370 1 i 2, ויברכו את שם עליון, “and they blessed the name of the Most High,” cf. Alex Jassen, “A New Suggestion for the Reconstruction of 4Q370 1 i 2 and the Blessing of the Most High (Elyon) in Second Temple Judaism,” *DSD* 17 (2010): 88-113 (Newsom read שם קודש “my holy name”).

The three overlapping lines belong to a section on the transience of human nature and the mighty acts of God in 4Q370 1 ii 5-9 which is closely related to 4Q185 1-2 i 13 - ii 3. Mas 1m 2a line 2 does not overlap with the few remaining words of 4Q370 1 ii 4, which suggests that the words **המה ורוח**, “they, and a/the spirit,” should be placed before or after **בי]ן רעתם בדעתם**, “their evil in their discerning between.” Since a new section with “the theme of the ephemeral nature of human existence”⁸ probably started just after these words, it is possible that spacing or paragraphing differed at this point between the manuscripts. Newsom detects multiple correspondences with Ezek 36 in the fragment, including the wording of “purification from iniquity” in 4Q370 1 ii 3 (for which see Ezek 36:33, which is related to Ps 51:4). Given this context of Ezek 36 (and Ps 51),⁹ Mas 1m 2a line 2 **רוח** might introduce a statement about God giving a new or pure spirit, or, in view of **בדעתם** in 4Q370 1 ii 4, a spirit of insight.¹⁰ In 4Q370 1 ii 6 Newsom reconstructed, on the basis of Ps 103:13, 17-18 **שמרי בריתו** **ירחם**, “he will have compassion on those who keep his covenant.”¹¹ It is not clear from the photograph whether Mas 1m 2e has a vacat after **מִי/מֹו**, or has been abraded. However, if we rely on the legible letters, the most meaningful reading and reconstruction would be **הוא ירחם** **א[ת עמו**, “he will have compassion with his people,” followed by a vacat.

1.3. Conclusions

Mas 1m has fragments that overlap with sections of both 4Q370 1 i and 1 ii, in respectively four and three consecutive lines. This overlap in two adjoining 4Q370 columns indicates that, at least in this section of both manuscripts, we are dealing with the same text, even though there are several small variants. As a working hypothesis we can assume that 4Q370 and Mas 1m were copies of the same work. It also shows that Stökl Ben Ezra’s suggestion that Mas 1m frags. 3a and 4d probably belonged to an independent scroll is incorrect. Apparently, the sample of letters in the Mas 1m fragments is too small to draw far-reaching conclusions about three different scribes.

2. Character and Nomenclature of 4Q370 and Mas 1m

2.1. Character of 4Q370 and Mas 1m

In her edition of 4Q370, Newsom observes that, “The first column (...) gives an account of the deluge in language which draws on Genesis 6-9,” and that the few remains of the second column indicate that it “did not contain more narrative but rather homiletical or admonitory remarks.”¹² She compares 4Q370 to other works that also use “historical narrative as a basis for paraenetic admoni-

⁸Newsom, DJD 19:89.

⁹On the use of Ps 51 among the scrolls, see Anja Klein, “From the ‘Right Spirit’ to the ‘Spirit of Truth’: Observations on Psalm 51 and 1QS,” in *The Dynamics of Language and Exegesis at Qumran* (ed. Devorah Dimant and Reinhard G. Kratz; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2009), 171-91.

¹⁰A reconstruction **רוח והמה מעוונותי]** **ויטהרם**, “and he will purify them from their iniquity, and a spirit ...” does not leave enough space for the text of 4Q370 1 ii 4 in Mas 1m frag. 2a. Also, the other Mas 1m examples of a third plural suffix have the form **הם**, not **המה**.

¹¹Newsom, DJD 19:96, 97.

¹²Newsom, DJD 19:85.

the eyes” is found repeatedly in Genesis, e.g., in 6:8 with respect to Noah, or 18:3 with Abraham. Line 4 can be read in different ways, in part depending on the reading of its left end,]^o קודש or]קודשם,¹⁷ as “he announced to him a/their holy day,” or “they made known their holy day.” On the basis of Isa 58:13, *Jub.* 2:27 and 50:9, the holy day would be the Sabbath, but another festal day cannot be excluded.¹⁸ The fragment may say that God himself (or the angels?) revealed this day to the person who found favor in line 3. However, I am not aware of traditions referring to the revelation of the Sabbath to a patriarch, whereas the few remains of the text do not give enough specifics to connect it with another festival. The most one can say is that the text probably deals with the Abraham-Isaac cycle.

For the work as a whole, this means that we apparently have another Second-Temple work that describes both flood and lives of the patriarchs.¹⁹ On the basis of 4Q370 only, one could not see this connection, but Mas 1m demonstrates that the content was not restricted to the flood.

2.2. Sequencing the Mas 1m fragments

It is likely that Mas 1m frags. 4d+3a and frags. 2a+2e derive from two adjoining columns, and probably two successive convolutions of the scroll. Indeed, the shape of the left side of frag. 3a corresponds closely to the left side of frag. 2e. If frag. 1 ii indeed deals with the patriarchs, then it comes most likely from a later section of the scroll. One cannot determine whether frags. 2a+2e and frag. 1 i are remains from adjoining columns, or whether columns are missing in between. These two fragments both preserve the bottom five lines and the bottom margin of the scroll, while the top left section of both fragments, and of frag. 1045-1375 (not presented on the plate here), correspond.

2.3. Nomenclature

Before its preliminary publication, 4Q370 was referred to as “Flood Apocryphon,” but Newsom avoided the word “Apocryphon” and published it as “Admonition Based on the Flood,”²⁰ on the assumption that the flood narrative of col. i was used as a basis for the admonition in col. ii. Hence, Emanuel Tov records as its abbreviated name: “AdmonFlood (*olim* apocrFlood).”²¹ Mas 1m shows that the work was not limited to a narrative of the flood and an admonition, but probably also included a section on the patriarchs. We might now opt for a more general and comprehensive description, or, given that we still know very little, retain the name given to 4Q370. In that case, the

qumraniens en hommage à Émile Puech (ed. F. García Martínez et al.; STDJ 61; Leiden: Brill, 2006), 87-103.

¹⁷Talmon, *Masada* 6, 103, reads]קודש. There is a trace to the left of קודש, but it is too far removed from *šin* for the reading קודש. It might, though, be the bottom left corner of final *mem*, of a reading]קודשם.

¹⁸For other festivals being called “holy day(s),” cf. Neh 10:31; 11Q19 (11QT^a) 43:17; *Jub.* 6:37.

¹⁹See Dimant, “The Flood as a Preamble to the Lives of the Patriarchs.”

²⁰In DJD 19, the Contents (p. vii) and Table of Plates (p. ix) refer to the text as “Admonition on the Flood,” but the heading of the edition (p. 85) mentions “4QAdmonition Based on the Flood.”

²¹Tov, *Revised Lists of the Texts from the Judaean Desert*, 47.

identification of Mas 1m with 4Q370 invites us to refer to the Masada fragments as “MasAdmon-Flood (*olim* MasapocrGen).”